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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Greek Mythological and Christian Imagery in Proust, by Charles N. Clark	4
The White Bull Manuscript, by James H. Howard	7
The Mechanism of Oral Tradition in Epic Story and Poetry, by C. Meredith Jones	10
Assiniboine Morphology, by Norman B. Levin	14
The Genitive in the German Language, by William I. Morgan	18
Some Slavic Etymologies Revised, by J. B. Rudnycki	22
The Alberta Summer School of Linguistics Announcement	26

## PROGRAMME

The Fifth Annual Conference of the Linguistics Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota was held in the Student Union Building of the University of North Dakota on Friday and Saturday, May 5 and 6, 1961. Following registration in the Red River Valley Room, the members were welcomed to the University by Dean George W. Starcher, who officially opened the Conference.

Four papers were presented at the Afternoon Session: "On Translating the Icelandic Sagas" by Richard Beck of the Department of Modern and Classical Languages of the University of North Dakota; "Greek and of the Christian Mythology in Proust" by Charles N. Clark, Department of French of the University of Manitoba; "The White Bull Manuscript" by James H. Howard of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of North Dakota; and "A Tolerant Linguistics" by J. F. S. Smeall of the Department of English of the University of North Dakota. Coffee and refreshments were served in the mid-afternoon and during this time informal discussion of the papers took place.

Friday evening the now-traditional dinner took place at the Bronze Boot after which the members, at a Public Meeting in the Red River Valley Room, heard the key-note address of C. Meredith Jones, Head of the French Department of the University of Manitoba, on the subject of "The Mechanism of Oral Tradition in Epic Story and Poetry". After the meeting, the President of the Circle and Mrs. Norman Levin entertained the University staff and out-of-town visitors at their home where informality and conviviality reigned supreme.

Saturday morning the Third and Final Session took place in the Memorial Room of the Student Union. Three papers were read: "Assiniboine Morphology" by Norman B. Levin of the Department of Modern and Classical Languages of the University of North Dakota; "The Genitive in the German Language" by William I. Morgan of the Department of Modern and Classical Languages of the University of North Dakota; and "Some Slavic Etymologies" by J. B. Rudnycki of the Department of Slavic Studies of the University of Manitoba. Refreshments and farewells brought a successful series of meetings to a close.



GREEK MYTHOLOGICAL AND CHRISTIAN IMAGERY IN PROUST

Charles N. Clark, French Department, University of Manitoba

One of the most characteristic features of the imagery in A la Recherche du temps perdu is its repetitive or, to use a favorite metaphor of Proust, its "kaleidoscopic" nature. All categories of his imagery partake of this dynamism; his cosmic symbolism, pictorial allusions and literary comparisons. To isolate any single type of image is artificial, but necessary; and Greek mythological and Christian imagery illustrate the relation between these stylistic devices and other aspects of the novel: its structure and thematic content.

Due to the first-person form of narration of the novel, the nature of much of this imagery changes according to the evolution of the narrator's mental attitude. This mental evolution, in its simplest form, has been summarized by Professor March in his book on Proust (p. 172); he states that the narrator's mind follows "a fairly consistent trend from sensibility to reason." With this evolution in mind, it is possible to state a first principle. Reality, or the observation and analysis of external fact, is expressed by individual (static) images; the subjective and imaginary, as well as the changing personality of the narrator, may be perceived in the dynamism of the imagery. I shall explore first the significance of individual images, and then the implications of their repetitive nature.

Greek mythological and Christian traditional allusions are the most important source of what must be called Proust's "phylogenetic" imagery, serving to illustrate the persistence of so-called "racial" characteristics in individuals. Proust is here doubtlessly influenced by Gérard de Nerval in the use of dream-sequences as a means to "remonter le cours des âges," and the desire to recapture lost time includes not only personal but also historic time. Proust, however, differs from Nerval in that the intuitive and imaginative impulses of his narrator towards a spiritual union with the past are implemented on a more rational plane by his pseudo-scientific studies of character, heredity and atavism.

Both Christian and Greek mythological allusions are used to express the antiquity of various personages of A la Recherche, each of whom is exemplary of an entire "race." Referring particularly to the innumerable comparisons between people and Gothic Art, Ramon Fernandez in his study of Proust generalizes as follows (p. 134):

Françoise steps down from a niche, and Mme de Guermantes from a stained-glass window, because both represent the persistent force of the past.

It is within Le Côté de Guermantes that this type of imagery is most fully developed, and it is to be noted that there is a willful combination and confusion of the Greek and Christian motifs. At one moment Mme de Guermantes is compared to a divine swan (Léda) (II, 29); on the following page, the mystery of her circle is compared to that of the Eucharist. On the next page, her dinner-guests are described as suggesting Christ's apostles, and somewhat later (II, 196), the almanach nobiliaire is qualified as a "mythological dictionary of society." In these and hundreds of other comparisons, we are confronted with a kind of devitalized syncretism, apparently lacking in any religious sentiment and without other appeal to myth than the recollection of antiquity. The synthesis of Greek mythological references and allusions to Christian tradition is undoubtedly inspired by Proust's reading of Ruskin, for in the preface and in footnotes of his translation of the Bible of Amiens he speaks of the "enchaînement souterrain" between these two bodies of knowledge.

An important distinction must, however, be made between these two sources of imagery when we consider their dynamic or repetitive functions; in this respect, in fact, their significance is exactly opposed.

In regard to this dynamic function of the Proustian imagery, it is possible to express another principle. Greek mythological references indicate or exteriorize a predominantly subjective or imaginative state of mind of the narrator, while Christian references remain objective, expressing the true inherent antiquity in the person observed. This distinction cannot be observed in any individual passage, but only by comparing or juxtaposing different passages from separate points within the novel and corresponding to different states of mind of the narrator. Thus, at the beginning of Le Côté de Guermantes, when Mme de Guermantes is variously considered as a "nymph," and a "divine swan," the narrator speaks of her family as:

... that race, so individual in the world that it has not lost itself, and where it remains isolated in its divinely ornithological glory, for it seems to have sprung, in the ages of mythology, from the union of a goddess and a bird (II, 80).

Much later, when Proust's narrator has lost his earlier enchantment for this family, he will give a second description of its members, denigrating:

... the fabulous origin taught in the sixteenth century by the good-will of parasitical and hellenizing genealogists to that race, which is ancient without doubt, but not to the point that they maintained when they gave it for origin the mysterious fecundation of a nymph by a divine bird (II, 439).

In this second passage Proust has, so to speak, destroyed an earlier image of his own, condemned it as exaggerated. From a different point of view, it may be said that we are shown the progression of the narrator's mind from dream or imagination to reality, for he has corrected himself by tacitly comparing his impressions of the Guermantes family at two different moments, isolated in time, but nonetheless related. This is true of the recurrent mythological imagery throughout A la Recherche and culminating in the Venice episode at the conclusion of Albertine disparue.

#### THE WHITE BULL MANUSCRIPT

James H. Howard, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Dakota

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In 1959 the library of the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, acquired a rather unusual document. This consists of a manuscript written in the Dakota language, and supplemented by pictographs, by Chief Joseph White Bull. White Bull was a member of the Minneconjou sub-band of the Teton Dakota. He was a nephew of the famous Chief Sitting Bull. The manuscript was collected from White Bull in 1931 by Usher L. Burdick, of Williston, North Dakota.

The manuscript contains a variety of information. There is a traditional history of the Minneconjou, accounts of bison hunts, a Dakota winter count embracing the years 1822 through 1932, and a pictographic record of White Bull's many war exploits.

During the winter of 1959-60 Mrs. Lolita Huxel, assisted by Solomon Du Marse, a Dakota informant, and the writer, succeeded in translating and interpreting the winter count section of the manuscript. This will appear shortly in the Plains Anthropologist. In the summer of 1960, with the aid of a grant from the University of North Dakota research fund, the writer was able to secure a complete translation of the remainder of the manuscript, plus interpretations of some of the symbolic details of the pictographs. Of particular assistance in this project were Mr. and Mrs. Bennett Sierra, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and Steven Feraca anthropologist at Pine Ridge.

The section of the manuscript concerning White Bull's war record is of particular interest because of the statement of the late Stanley Vestal that White Bull was the slayer of General George Armstrong Custer at the battle of the Little Big Horn. Vestal describes this in the February, 1957, issue of American Heritage as dictated to him by White Bull:

I charged in. A tall, well-built soldier with yellow hair and mustache saw me coming and tried to bluff me, aiming his rifle at me. But when I rushed him, he threw his rifle at me without shooting. I dodged it. We grabbed each other and wrestled there in the dust and smoke. It was like fighting in a fog. This soldier was very strong and brave. He tried to wrench my rifle from me. I lashed him across the face with my quirt, striking the coup. He let go, then grabbed my gun with both hands until I struck him again.

But the tall soldier fought hard. He was desperate. He hit me with his fists on the jaw and shoulders, then grabbed my long braids

with both hands, pulled my face close and tried to bite my nose off. I yelled for help: 'Hey, hey, come over and help me!' I thought that soldier would kill me.

Bear Lice and Crow Boy heard me call and came running. These friends tried to hit the soldier. But we were whirling around, back and forth, so that most of their blows hit me. They knocked me dizzy. I yelled as loud as I could to scare my enemy, but he would not let go. Finally I broke free.

He drew his pistol. I wrenched it out of his hand and struck him with it three or four times on the head, knocked him over, shot him in the head, and fired at his heart. I took his pistol and cartridge belt. Hawk-Stays-Up struck second on his body.

Ho hecheru! That was a fight, a hard fight. But it was a glorious battle, I enjoyed it. I was picking up head-feathers right and left that day. (1957, p. 9)

In his American Heritage article Vestal refers to a ledger in which White Bull recorded his "military history", the location of which he (Vestal) did not know (1957, p. 90). It is the opinion of this writer that the manuscript under discussion here is the one referred to by Vestal. In this manuscript we find three scenes representing the fight between White Bull and the man he identifies as Custer.

If White Bull was, indeed, the slayer of Custer, a number of questions may be raised. The most pertinent of these, perhaps, is why Vestal did not identify White Bull as the slayer of Custer earlier. In his article Vestal answers this as follows:

Beacuse of the hostility shown towards White Bull by his white neighbors, I was unwilling to publish these facts while the Chief and his immediate connections were still alive. If those who knew him felt so strongly, I feared that if this story were published in my biography of the Chief (Warpath, The True Story of the Fighting Sioux, 1934) some hothead might harm the old man. Now it can be told. (1957, p. 91)

Another question which might be raised is how White Bull was able to identify Custer, a man he had never seen, in the dust and turmoil of the battle field. It appears that White Bull actually did not know his man at the time, but that later his relative, Bad Soup, who had been around Fort Abraham Lincoln and knew Custer by sight, identified the body (Vestal, 1957, p. 90).

All of this, of course, still does not prove that White Bull was the slayer of Custer. It is still the word of one old Indian man, supported by his biographer, Stanley Vestal. Nevertheless it should be pointed out that the newly discovered White Bull manuscript confirms and supplements Vestal's American Heritage account in every respect. The pictograph published in American Heritage is obviously the work of the same man as the one who prepared the White Bull manuscript. Details of dress, down to minor details such as White Bull's war charm or wotawè match perfectly.

Someone did the deed and it would appear that Chief Joseph White Bull is our most likely candidate.

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## THE STRUCTURE AND TRANSMISSION OF ORAL POETRY

C. Meredith Jones, Head of French Department, University of Manitoba

From the time of Homer onwards, we have known of the existence of an imposing body of heroic poetry that flourished and persisted in places and at times when writing, or at least writing in the vernacular tongue, were unknown. In almost every country poems dealing with heroes and historical events obviously enjoyed great popularity, despite the illiteracy of the masses.

The great problem has been to discover how they were transmitted through those centuries and civilisations where either writing was not practiced or where written literature was confined to works composed in a learned Latin tongue. This paper uses for its specific examples the French Songs of Geste. The events they describe date back to the 8-9th centuries. The versions in which they have reached us are contained in MSS that in no case are earlier than the beginning of the 12th century. How were the songs preserved? How were they preserved with such a high degree of textual conformity between different MSS versions? How, on the other hand, can we explain the puzzling differences that do exist between two texts of the same song?

These problems have a certain modern Canadian interest also. For apparently, even today, similar songs have a vigorous oral life in Central Europe and even in the Province of Quebec. In 1960 a French visitor to Gaspé listened to endless tales recited by singers unable to read and write. They dealt with adventures of Napoleon and historical themes of 150 years ago and earlier. None of them are written down. Yet they have survived despite the lack of physical and spiritual contact between metropolitan France and Quebec in the 19th century. It is the same problem as the one scholars argue over in the case of the Song of Roland. The historian-secretary of Charlemagne, Eginhard, made in his History a two-line reference to a disaster that occurred in the Pass of Roncevaux in the year 778. Around the year 1100, we find a French Ms that gives in 4004 lines a detailed and stirring elaboration of this historically based incident. That the Song of Roland was not 'composed' at this date and for the first time by some poet with antiquarian interests is certain. For we know that, in 1066 for instance, at the Battle of Hastings, a Song of Roland, though not the one we have, was sung to the troops by the singer Taillefer. And there are many other like clues available to prove that before our first written text, the story had wide currency and great popularity. What then is the link?

Many theories were evolved to explain the 300 years of silence.

A good many of them stemmed from the Grimm explanation which made of Homer a knitting together of many separate short poems. Scholars supposed that these Songs which appeared in vast numbers and for the first time in the 12th century were likewise elaborations and compilations of short poems, known as cantilenae, actually celebrating some event as it occurred. A huge mass of medieval Latin texts has come down to us; unfortunately not a single cantilena seems to have survived. Other explanations mostly founder on the same reef. They imagine lost poems, lost bi-lingual Franco-German borrowings, lost imitations of Homer and Virgil, lost everything.

In this century the great Joseph Bedier rejected all of them and proposed instead the thesis that the poems were indeed composed in the 12th century; they had no antiquity, as poems. They flourished along the pilgrim routes of the Middle Ages whose sanctuaries had piously preserved legends of heroes and supported them with venerable relics. They were written in the actual MSS we now have, and had something to do with attracting pilgrims to the shrines where heroic relics were preserved. The theory, beautifully ingenious as it is, is vulnerable on many points.

Perhaps the reason why none of the standard explanations give satisfying explanations to the problem of origin and survival is that they all accept the songs of geste as belonging to a literary, written tradition. Since we have no early texts, it was easy to assume that they are lost to us. But it is a fact, whose importance was not noticed, that, with the exception of a very few saints' lives, we have no written texts at all composed in French and thousands written in Latin. People just did not write in French before a certain time, just as before the time of Homer no one wrote because writing began only in the 8th century B. C. The literary tradition will give no answer because these songs belonged and still belong to an oral tradition, examples of which can still be studied in vivo today. Equally lengthy heroic poems have been transmitted orally for centuries in parts of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, the Baltic countries, India, Spain and perhaps even Quebec. There professional but illiterate singers, without having memorised or being prompted, unable to read, work within a formulaic tradition of astonishing homogeneity that enables them to recite after one hearing only a song of prodigious length.

From the 1930's on, Harvard scholars Milman Parry, Lord and Notopoulos collected, transcribed and studied modern heroic songs in these countries. They discovered that a singer could not only repeat after one hearing only, but could repeat textually the same song at 40 years interval, with little variation except as to length. These singers, with rests, can sing for days at a time. They follow a tradition they have learned and which the audiences expect to find. It is a two fold formulaic pattern. A pattern of

traditional themes, said to number around 130, that are used in the songs of every country at almost every period of historical time. The other is a pattern of formulae; the singer, trained from boyhood, has an endless number of phrases, sentences and assonances from which he can unhesitatingly rebuild any poem as long as he knows the sequence of themes it contains. He can use it to create a new poem or to repeat an old one. He does not need to memorise; he only needs to know the sequence of events. He breaks these down to fit the traditional themes and tells them in the formulae that fit the metre and the rime.

In this way we can prove that songs of great antiquity still circulate today without ever having been written down. The Harvard scholars transcribed them and, as they admit, introduced a note of artificiality that breaks the traditional patterns. In transcribing, a singer has time to compose ahead, think ahead, polish his style; he has time to turn his natural song into an artificial literary poem. This is the explanation of the extraordinary superiority of the Song of Roland over its contemporaries and the brilliant artistry of Homer. A fortunate chance put the dictating into the hands of artists of great genius; they made works of art out of assembly-line formulae.

In the written versions that we have, there still exists abundant evidence of the essentially formulaic structure of even the greatest heroic poems. When Homer wishes to show how a guest is washed and fed (a formulaic theme), he has a standard set of 8 lines to do it with; in the Odyssey he repeats this set 6 times. When a French knight is to be armed, the jongleur has his patterns that vary only with the metre and the assonance. The paper gave a large number of examples to document these observations with detail.

If then we accept, as we must to some degree, the idea that heroic poetry belongs to an oral tradition, that it works in formula patterns, we can understand much that has puzzled us. Variations in MS traditions will merely represent the reflection of varying and competing oral traditions, each using the preferred formulae of some professional singer. The dullness and monotony of poems is understandable; they are mass and assembly-line produced. Greater or lesser length of versions is explained by time limits or desire for decoration. Errors are just forgetfulness due to the method of short sessions at 24-hour intervals. The lack of imagination, of originality, the recurrence of themes, the repetition of phrases: these are the trade marks of the professional oral singer. Yugoslav poets of today use the same ones as did Homer and the jongleurs. Just as these modern singers will state that, after one hearing, they are so well trained that they will reproduce exactly a whole poem, so the medieval singers sang, reproduced and transmitted oral songs until such time as they were written down in French. Then they began a new career, this time a

literary one.

Oral transmission will not explain everything. But the fact that we have no written record for 300 years of the famous legend of Roncevaux no longer surprises us; we do not have to invent lost poems. The legend, born contemporaneously probably with the event, was handed on from one professional singer to another until it happened to be written down by a great artist. Other songs were not so fortunate; they were transcribed by hacks. There is no need any more to invent lost cantilenae, pilgrim route legends, scholarly adaptations of Homer and Virgil or the Geste Francor, or popular borrowings from German heroic songs. To a certain extent, as Grimm said, the epic has no author; it is indeed the voice of the people. Occasionally a great voice. But interesting in that it has a formulaic mechanics that enabled a vast poem to be preserved without the what seem to us to be the essential elements of author or publisher.



ASSINIBOINE MORPHOLOGY

Dr. Norman Balfour Levin, American Specialist in the Republic of Cameroun

INTRODUCTION

The Assiniboine are an Indian tribe of the Great Plains region, who originally occupied the territory of North Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Members of the tribe are now found not only in their original habitat, but in Alberta Province as well, where they are known as the Stoney. The aboriginal population of the Assiniboine is estimated at 3,000, of which 1,500 are on the Fort Peck reserve, Montana.

The Assiniboine language has been classified as a member of the Missouri river group of the Siouan Stock. Descriptive work on the Assiniboine consists mainly of unclassified word lists. Part of a manuscript commentary, consisting of a comparison of Sioux and Assiniboine sounds, by Deloria is in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Brief comments on the two sub-dialects of Assiniboine (Stoney in Alberta, Canada, and Assiniboine in Fort Belknap, Montana) are made by Lowie in his anthropological contributions. No detailed Assiniboine grammar has been published.

My own field work was done in January - February 1959, June September 1959, a few weeks in April 1960, and November 1960. My informants were: Mr. Dan Blacktail (now deceased), Mrs. Henry Blacktail, and Mr. Charlie Track, all of Fort Peck, Montana.

INFLECTION OF NOUN THEMES

- 1.0 In Assiniboine, there are two nominal themes: absolute and additive.
  - 1.1 The absolute is capable of standing alone: nape "hand", ha "skin".
  - 1.2 The additive is characteristically dependent and affixal: wicanape "human hand", taha "deerskin".
- 2.0 The inflectional categories of all nouns are gender, number and person.
- 3.0 Every noun theme belongs to either animate or inanimate gender.
- 4.0 Nouns designating persons, animals and certain classes of fruit belong to the animate gender.
  - 4.1 Persons: hoksi "boy", koska "girl", wicasa "man", wiya "woman".
  - 4.2 Animals: sukataka "horse", ptewana "cow", ptemnaka "bull", suka "dog".
  - 4.3 Fruit: spasiyutapi "watermelon", taspataka "apples".
  - 4.4 Diminutives of animates are also animates and are formed by adding na to the noun: hoksina "little boy", wicaxcana "little old man", koskana "little girl".

- 4.5 Inanimates may become animate by personal designation: maxpiya hiape "The stars say that."
- 5.0 Noun classes are categorized by singular, plural and inclusive numbers.
  - 5.1 The suffix pi is added to the singular form (see above) of the animate noun only to form the plural and may be also affixed to predicate, verb or adjective: koskapi "boys"; sukataka tauapi "your horses"; ne taspataka ne sicapi "These apples are sour", ne zitkana ne nowapi "The boys are singing."
  - 5.2 Inanimate noun forms do not add pi to form plurals: ne mosoyakatene ptecena "The nails are short."
  - 5.3 The inclusive is formed by affixing u to the singular noun: wincasa "We (you, . . . I) are men."
- 6.0 As in Indo-European speech, there are three persons of the noun form: first, second and third.
- 7.0 Assiniboine noun themes have only three case forms: subject, object and possession.
  - 7.1 These are determined by the position of the noun in the sentence (see 700).
  - 7.2 There is a form for the locative and another for nouns of address.
  - 7.3 Normally the subject comes first, the object second, and the verb last: ne wicasta ne paha yuha "The man owns the hat."
- 8.0 Possessed noun themes are formed by placing two nouns in sequence with the possessive noun following the object possessed: wapa wicasta "the man's hat", he pte "the horns of the bison".
- 9.0 There are several classifications of possessed noun themes: alienable, inalienable and kinship.
  - 9.1 Alienable. The relationship can be broken by destroying or giving away the possessed item: cotaka hoksina "boy's gun".
  - 9.2 Inalienable. The possessor cannot rid self of the possessed item (with the exception of a wife): napa hoksina "boy's hand".
  - 9.3 Kinship. These use the special affixes: ku, takaku "his father-in-law"; tku, sukatku hoksina "boy's brother"; cu, rawicu "his wife".
- 10.0 Locatives are formed by affixing syntactic particles: ta "on", makata "on earth"; taha "from", maktaha "from the earth"; and the independent preposition mahen "into", timahen "into the house".
- 11.0 Nouns of address appear only in kinship themes and are different morphs from those of the other cases: ate nowawo "Father, sing";

- mi atkuku nowa "My father is singing"; take maniwo "Sister, walk"; mitake mani "My sister is walking"; hina waciwo "Mother, dance"; he huku he waci "The mother is dancing."
- 12.0 Pronominal themes are divided into the additive and the absolute.
- 13.0 The absolute falls into two classes: Class I and Class II.
- 13.1 Class I: miye "I", "me"; niye "you"; iye "He", "she", "it"; ukiye "I.. you (pl.)"; ukiyepi "we", "us", niyepi "you"; is "they", "them".
- 13.2 Class II: mis "I", "me"; nis "you"; is "he", "she", "it"; ukis "I.. you (pl.)"; ukis "we", "us"; nis "you"; is "they", "them".
- 14.0 The emphatic pronoun is formed by combining Class I and Class II, and its function is to produce intensity: mis miye "I, myself".
- 15.0 Adjectival themes fall into two classifications: qualificative and designating.
- 15.1 Qualificative: sica "bad", sapa "black", haska "tall".
- 15.2 Designating adjectives are divided into two categories: numerical and pronominal.
- 16.0 Pronominal adjectives are of two classes: genitive and demonstrative.
- 17.0 The genitive (possessive) adjective is again divided into independent and dependent forms.
- 18.0 The independent falls into two divisions: separate and emphatic.
- 18.1 Separate: mitawa "my", nitawa "your"; tawa "his", "hers", "its"; ukitawa "our" (incl.); nitawapi "yours" (pl.); tawapi "their"; ukitawa "ours"; suka mitawa "my horse".
- 18.2 Emphatic: miye "my"; niye "your"; iye "his", "hers", "its"; ukiye "our" (incl.); ukiye "ours"; niye "your" (pl.); iye "their"; tipi niye nitawa "your very own house".
- 19.0 Dependent adjectives fall into three divisions: property, parts of body, and relation.
- 19.1 Property: mita "my"; nita "thy"; ta "his", "her", "its"; ukita "our" (incl.); ukita - pi "our"; nita-pi "your"; ta-pi "their"; mitasukataka "my horse".
- 19.2 Parts of Body: ma "my"; ni "they"; "his", "hers", "its"; u "our" (s. incl.); u-pi "our"; ni-pi "your" (pl.); - pi "their"; nipogepi "your nose".
- 19.3 Relation: mi "my"; ni "your"; -ku, -cu, -tku "his", "her", "its"; uki "our"; uki-pi "our" (pl.); ni-pi "your" (pl.); -kupi, -cupi, -tkupi "their"; micuksl "my daughter!"

- 20.0 Demonstrative adjectives, as follows are generally placed before and after the nominal theme they modify: ne, neis, is, cene "this"; he, hena "that"; ne, nena, nenake "there"; hena, he "those"; henana "only those"; kaki "there": ne koska ne "this boy"; neis ne "This is he"; cene paha tawa "This is his hat"; he cahapa he mitawa "Those are my shoes"; kaki kais wazi "This is the one".
- 21.0 The same form of adjectival theme is used for all genders. However, as in noun themes, there are three forms of number: singular, inclusive and plural.
- 21.1 Singular: ne wicastane haska "He is tall."
- 21.2 Inclusive: wicasa uhaska "We (you and I) are tall."
- 21.3 Plural (normal): nina is haskapi "They are tall". Plural (reduplication): the process of doubling syllables to express plurality or intensity in nominal themes: nina is hahaska "They are very tall".
- 22.0 The comparative of the adjective is formed by prefixing adverbial morphs to the adjectival form: aka taka "more big", "bigger"; aka sapa "more black" "blacker".
- 23.0 When comparing one object with another, the morph follows the noun or pronoun with which comparison is made: ne mi iaka haska "He is taller than I".
- 24.0 The superlative is formed by the use of adverbs in three ways: kapeha "the most", ne koska ne kaprha mniha "he is the strongest of the boys"; nina "very", nina textisi "very cheap", "cheapest"; ninaxca "very very", ninaxca hukis "extraordinarily slow", "slowest".

THE GENITIVE IN THE GERMAN LANGUAGE -- A survey of ten thousand running words from each of four texts from the Middle High German, Early New High German, Classical, and Modern periods.

William L. Morgan, Associate Professor of German, University of North Dakota

Very frequently, when the genitive case is discussed in German grammars and syntaxes, the statement is made that the use of this case has declined during the history of the language, in frequency as well as in variety of use. This paper is an attempt on a small scale to give a statistical survey of this phenomenon from Middle High German down to the present. Approximately 10,000 running words were examined from four different periods of German language and literature:

1. Middle High German -- Hartmann von Aue: Erec (c. 1200) -- the first 2000 lines.
2. Early New High German -- Hans Sachs: Schwänke (c. 1560) -- fourteen of them.
3. Classical German -- C. M. Wieland: Oberon (1780) -- Cantos I, II, and III in part.
4. Modern German -- Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Die Hochzeit der Sobeida (1899) -- the entire play.

All four texts are in verse, which maintains at least one factor fairly constant. The table below gives a statistical break-down of the results.

It will be noticed that the modern total occurrence of the genitive (totals at the bottom of the table) is less than half that of the MHG (95 to 212). Sachs and Wieland, on the other hand, do not conform to a theory of the steady decline on the genitive, without resurgences. The more recent of the two, Wieland, has considerably more instances of the use of this case (151 to 129). This might be looked upon in at least two ways. One would obviously be to conclude that the genitive was used more frequently in the 18th than in the 16th Century. Much more extensive sampling would be needed to prove or disprove this possibility. But another approach suggests itself in view of the nature of the two writers involved. On the one hand, we have the volkstümlich cobbler, Hans Sachs, with his relatively realistic reflection of the language of the people; on the other, the elegant Wieland writing a sophisticated work of art. Except with proper names, the genitive has tended to die out in the language of the common people (which Sachs tended to use) and in the dialects, whereas it has retained much higher currency in the written language and in more elevated speech. But perhaps such a discussion of personalities is quibbling: Sachs and Wieland are, on the whole, typical

representatives of their respective periods, and it might well be found that different selections would yield similar results.

More interesting and more conclusive is the significant difference between the two earlier and the two later writers with respect to the various usages of the genitive represented. The first series of rows (a.) in the table below represents the genitive dependent upon a noun. The most striking figures here are the percentages of the total occurrences of the genitive represented by this type. Although there is a steady rise from first to last, the greatest jump occurs between ENHG and Classical -- from about 30% to about 80%. The last two sub-rows under a. show the position of the genitive relative to the substantive with which it is connected. With Hartmann and Sachs the position preceding is overwhelmingly the favorite. But Hofmannsthal places the genitive after its substantive over three times as often as he places it before.

This proportional rise in the use of the genitive with nouns is more than off-set by the decline of cases of the verbal genitive (b. in the table). Ninety cases of the genitive dependent upon a verb were found in Hartmann, more than twice the number of examples of the genitive with a noun and 42% of the total for this text. This drop to 32% for ENHG and to between 4% and 6% for Classical and Modern. The difference between the two earlier and the two later writers will be noted here, too. It is clear that the major decline in the use of the genitive is accounted for here.

The nature of the other classifications should be clear from the examples of usage given after the table. It should be noted that the number of examples of different adjectives (second row under e.) remained constant throughout the first three periods and then dropped off suddenly to a single adjective (wert) repeated three times. The total number of cases dropped off somewhat more steadily. The only classification besides the nouns showing an increase is the prepositions (g.). There were no clear cases of this usage in Hartmann or Sachs; there was one in Wieland and two in Hofmannsthal. Row i. ("Others") consists primarily of the genitive dependent upon such words as (in MHG) vil, genuoc, niht, etc. It accounts for a good many instances of the genitive in MHG and in ENHG but after that this usage practically dies out.

I. TABLE

	1. Hartmann	2. Sachs	3. Wieland	4. Hofmannsthal
a. Nouns	42	38	123	83
Percent	19.8%	29.4%	81.4%	87.4%
Before	40	32	65	20
After	2	6	58	83

I. TABLE (Cont'd)

	<u>1. Hartmann</u>	<u>2. Sachs</u>	<u>3. Wieland</u>	<u>4. Hofmannsthal</u>
b. <u>Verbs</u>	90	41	8	4
Percent	42.2%	31.8%	5.3%	4.2%
Different	47	26	7	3
c. <u>Predicate</u>	3	3	---	1
Different	3	2	---	1
d. <u>Verb + Noun</u>	18	4	---	---
Different	15	3	---	---
e. <u>Adjective</u>	16	9	9	3
Different	7	7	7	1\
f. <u>Adverbial</u>	11	11	2	---
Different	4	3	2	---
g. <u>Prepositions</u>	---	---	1	3
Different	---	---	1	2
h. <u>Des (sen)</u>	4	---	7	1
i. <u>Others</u>	28	29	2	---
Different	12	12	2	---
<u>TOTALS</u>	212	129	151	95

II. EXAMPLES (Numbered according to the table above; genitives underlined)

1. Hartmann

- des schiltes rant = the edge of the shield
- rates muoz ich mich biten = I must ask for advice
- der roc was grüener verwe = the coat was (of a) green color
- er der winkel war genam = he surveyed the corners
- die gazzen waren spils vol = the streets were full of merrymaking
- des abendes = in the evening
- (none)
- der herzoge Imain des diu hochzit solde sin = Duke Imain, whose festival was to take place
- mir zerinner niht des muotes = courage will not leave me

2. Sachs

- an einrHennen stat = instead of a hen
- sie denckt Ehlicher freud = she thinks of married joy
- und wart gantz demutiger art = and became entirely "of a humble nature."
- und (er) was des Urteils wol zu fried = and he was well contented with the judgment
- voller Weins = full of wine
- eins tags = one day ("once upon a time")
- (none)
- (none)
- ich muss essen der Jungen dein = I must eat (some) of your young

3. Wieland

- von keinem unsrer Schar = from none of our host
- der Kalif, der einer solchen Szene sich nicht versah = the caliph, who expected no such scene
- (none)
- (none)
- des Triumphs gewiss = certain of triumph
- ich steh' Euch festen Muts = I will stand by you with firm courage
- kraft dieses Worts = by virtue of this word
- (none given)
- vier seiner Backenzahne = four of his molars

4. Hofmannsthal

- (none given)
- erbarm dich meiner = have pity on me
- ich glaube, was ich tat, ist einer Art mit dem... = I believe what I did is "of one nature" with that...
- (none)
- der Mühe wert = worth the trouble
- (none)
- statt dürer Zweige = instead of withered branches
- (none given)
- (none)

SOME SLAVIC ETYMOLOGIES REVISED

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The lack of etymological dictionaries has been for long one of the sorest weaknesses of the Slavic linguistics. The change came in 1950's with the publication of Max Vasmer's Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, C. Winter Universitätsverlag, 1950-1958), J. Holub - F. Kopečný's Etymologický slovník jazyka českého (Praha 1952), V. Machek's Etymologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského (Praha 1957), F. Slawski's Słownik Etymologiczny języka polskiego (Krakow 1952 and ff.) and the 3rd, etymological, part of L. Sadnik - R. Aitzetmüller's Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten (S-Gravenhage - Heidelberg 1955). Here also two reprints of the work of A. G. Preobrazenskij Etymologičeskij slovar' ruskogo jazyka made in New York (Columbia) in 1951 and in Moscow in 1958 should be mentioned. Some further contributions to Slavic etymology are promised: T. Lehr Sptawinski has compiled an etymological dictionary of the Polabian language, V. Polak has been working on a Slovak and J. B. Rudnyckyj on a Ukrainian etymological dictionary. We miss dictionaries of that kind for Serbian and Croatian, Slovene, Sorbian, Lusatian and Macedonian.

Etymological articles are published more and more frequently in Slavistic and linguistic periodicals in America and elsewhere. The Canadian Slavonic Papers in Toronto, Slavic and East European Studies in Bloomington, Language in Baltimore, Names in Grand Forks are learned journals contributing to this field on our continent.

In the general Slavic field the fundamental work of Franz Miklosich Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen (Vienna 1886) and the incomplete Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg 1908-1913) by Erich Berneker - though in some respects out of date - still render their services to linguists. The lack of a modern Slavic etymological dictionary is, however, evident in every field. One may mention also that there is no dictionary of that kind in English. All the available works are either in the respective Slavic tongues (Russian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian) or in German (Miklosich, Berneker, Vasmer).

The quality of the above named dictionaries differs from work to work. Vasmer, is an experienced etymologist, adds in his dictionary many new solutions, some of them definitive. Machek is too subjective in etymologizing, Slawski gives an excellent torso combining history with etymology and is, in my opinion, the best one. His work (so far incomplete) has been compiled in a milieu of scholars of such high caliber as Kuryłowicz, Nitsch, Lehr-

Sptawinski, Taszycki a. o. It is and will remain a new word in the Slavic lexicology. It was, in the methodological respect, an example for my etymological dictionary of Ukrainian on which I have been working since 1941. <sup>1)</sup>

The following fields of the linguistic research have been included in my work:

1. entry word and its variation in dialects;
2. German and English translations;
3. historical evidence;
4. geographical distribution in the Slavic world;
5. derivatives;
6. synonyms;
7. etymology.

As an example the word abetka may serve:

abétka 'Alphabet auch Fiebel' - 'ABC, alphabet also primer' (1861 Haccuk).  
 A modern Ukrainian neologism.  
 Deriv. abétočka, abétkovyj, abétnyj.  
 Syn. ázbuka, alfavít Wd. al'fabet, abecádlo (from Polish since 17th c., Berynda, up to 1873, Pyskunov).  
 From the first two letters of the Ukr. alphabet a-b like ázbuka, alfavít,  
 see s. v.

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The work on my dictionary gave me an opportunity to accept, revise, reject or to give several new etymologies of Slavic words and some of them are discussed in this paper. I restrict myself to two names Antes and Slavs and two appellatives priležnyj and pyl'nyj.

anty 'Antae, Antes' (name of Eastern Slavs in Byzantine and Latin chronicles of 6 - 7th c.)  
 The assumption of G. Vernadsky that the name is based on Greek 'As though "in full accord with the phonetic laws of the Greek language" (cf. his Ancient Russia 106) does not suffice to explain it from Greek. Also Lehr-Sptawinski's supposition

<sup>1)</sup>See: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Ukrainischen Sprache. Proberseiten. (Vienna-Leipzig, 1945).



referring it to the root <sup>x</sup>(v)ent- (Germ. Wenden) is not persuasive. It may more probably be considered an Iranian translation of Slavic <sup>x</sup>ukrainjane 'border people, border tribe', i. e. Eastern Slavic population neighbouring with Scythians and other Iranian tribes. According to Vasmer the name is derived from IE root <sup>xx</sup>ant- front side, cf. Sanskrit antaḥ 'end, border', Gothic andais, Anglo-Saxon end, etc.

Slovanyn Slav; an extensive explanation of this name was given by me in Names, vol. 8, No. 2, June 1960, pp. 65-74 and Onomastica No. 21, Winnipeg 1961. New material found in the meantime seems to corroborate the non-topographic function of the suffix -ěnin; Russian semjanin, Ukrainian simjanyn 'family man', spadščanyn 'heir, inheritor', etc.

As far as the English duplicate Slavic and Slavonic is concerned the first one is more precise than slavonic, the latter being rather correspondent to Slavonian = Slovene in Yugoslavia.

pryležnyj surrounding and pyl'nyj 'diligent, eager'. Both words have been recently discussed in a special article by P. Tedesco in Language, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 18-27. He simply drops certain consonants and (an accented) vowel and deducts pil'n ǝ from priležnǝ (the omitted sounds R, E, Z are capitalized).

Although V. Machek in his etymological dictionary (op. cit. 367) accepts the etymology of Tedesco, we find it very unusual not only in the structural but primarily in the semantic respect.

As it is shown in the article, all Slavic etymological dictionaries connect pil'n ǝ with the root <sup>x</sup>pil- file, saw. The adjective pil n is derived from this word. Diligent might "conceivably have been expressed by filing, sawing, the element in common being the idea of reiteration and persistence". For Tedesco this connection is a priori very unlikely (op. cit. 22). However, there is such a connection in dialectal Ukrainian expression: cej professor pyla 'this professor is a saw' i. e. eager in his attitude towards the subjects he teaches; učytel pyluje means the teacher is sharp, eager in his subject. The semantic connection of pyla, pyluvaty and eagerness, diligence is also known in the Polish student vernacular. I remember well that during my student time at the University of Lviv such expressions were very often used by students. Thus, we do not accept Tedesco's etymology based on meaning, since the meaning of pil'n ǝ can be easily connected with the root <sup>x</sup>pil- and semantically deducted from its meaning. In revising this etymology we wish not only to keep pace with the formal data but also to revive the etymologies of the past, particularly

that of the Nestor of Slavic linguistics, Franz Miklosich, who perhaps more intuitively than rationally rightly referred it to the PS root <sup>x</sup>pil- which is found in pila saw, piliti to saw, etc. (p. 246). Tedesco's "semantic" etymology resembles a medieval method of etymologizing according to which terra is "ab, eo quod territur" and ⲉⲗⲕⲩ from circle (not linguistic one!), or - speaking in general terms - it is a method for which the vowels mean very little and the consonants nothing. There is no doubt that with such a method everything can easily be explained. But, to paraphrase the Latin saying:

"est modus in rebus linguisticis sunt certi denique fines!"

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